

The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

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OUR MOVEMENT IS INVINCIBLE — WE WILL FIGHT ON!

Proclamation by the Central Executive Council of the
Communist Party of America.

"The spectre of Communism is haunting Europe", wrote the framers of the Communist Manifesto nearly three-quarters of a century ago. The threat of working class revolution has become a reality in Europe and the American capitalism is trembling with fear lest this same spectre, which haunts it, become a reality here.

It is because American capitalism feels itself insecure that it is striking out with all its power in an effort to destroy the Communist movement, which is in the forefront of the revolt against capitalism in this country.

The raids and arrests of the last week have never been equaled even in autocratic Russia, in the blackest days of Czarism.

More than four thousands workers have been herded into prison pens and are held for prison sentences and deportation. With a brutality outrivalling the Cossacks and Black Hundred of the former Czar they have been snatched from their homes, husbands from their wives and mothers from their children, and now with the barest mockery of a hearing and trial are hurried away, deported and imprisoned, so that American capitalism may be freed from the threat of their opinions.

A few weeks ago "democratic America" startled the world by reversing the process which began when the heretic Puritans landed from the Mayflower at Plymouth Rock three hundred years ago. The Puritans were fleeing from oppression. They sought the shores of America to escape persecution. Today the nation which they helped to found is expelling from its shores men and women who are political heretics. The United States has become the land of blackest political oppression, and Soviet Russia — the land of freedom ready to welcome those whom the American capitalists and their government expel because of heretical opinions.

Comrades, can the Communist movement be destroyed by this unheard of persecution and oppression? Will the arrest of the four thousand members of our organization free American capitalism from the threat of loss of its position of privilege — its opportunity to extort profits from the workers?

Comrades, take courage! We are invincible. Capitalism has merely struck down the front rank of the army of workers that is mobilizing against it. It has taken four thousand of our organization of fifty thousand. It has struck at those who have been active in our work, — but others will step in their places and take up their work. Our organization is not destroyed; our ranks will quickly fill up with those who will be aroused to action by the very persecution through which the capitalists seek to destroy us.

Did all the persecution of the Czar prevent the workers of Russia from marching on to victory? Did the Cossacks' knout, the black prisons and Siberian exile

prevent the ranks of our movement from filling up again in Russia?

Persecution and oppression can never win. It defeats itself by rousing new determination and energy among the workers.

And remember, comrades, the fifty thousand members of our party do not stand alone. They represent the conscious element among the workers, the militant organization which by its heroic effort arouses the mass of the workers to action.

If we stood alone, American capitalism would hardly cast to the wind its pretenses about 'American democracy' and blacken itself before the world in the effort to destroy our organization. It is just because the capitalists realize that the masses of workers are beginning to stir, because the signs of mutiny and revolt are apparent on all sides, because of this it aims its vicious blows at our organization. The great steel strike, the coal strike, the wave of strikes which are rending the entire industrial structure of the country, these are the portends which have roused the capitalists to action against us.

And these, comrades, are also the signs that we are invincible. Capitalism cannot conquer; the Communist movement cannot fail. Behind our organization are the forces which are sapping the strength of the capitalist industrial structure and forcing new masses of workers into the open struggle against capitalists. These forces inevitably bring the workers into conflict with their masters; they arouse more and more workers to a conscious revolt and conscious struggle against the existing system of industry.

Let the government of the capitalists imprison and deport every "red" agitator in the country! It will avail it nothing: Let it imprison or deport every one of the fifty thousand members of our party, — a task that is already beyond its power. It will avail in nothing. It will drive new sections of the workers to revolt. A new Communist movement will arise. A new army will challenge capitalism.

Communism is not the foreign growth which the lackeys of capitalism try to make it appear. It is innate in the structure of the present industrial order.

With this knowledge in our hearts and minds let us rally to our movement. Where capitalism has for the moment damaged our organization, the work to repair and strengthen it must be undertaken at once.

The national organization will assist with all its power. It will help to develop new methods to place the movement beyond the attack of our enemies.

Comrades, the workers struggle calls you! In the face of the cruel attack and persecution you must rally to your cause, you must mobilize anew for the struggle.

On with the struggle! On to Victory!

LONG LIVE SOVIET RUSSIA!

But the menace of Russia continued to terrify the master class. So it decided to throw all its united resources with the colossal death-dealing machinery tested in a "victorious" war against the Russian proletariat to force it back into slavery. With bravery unequalled in all the annals of history, the Russian working masses withstood the onslaught of the entire imperialistic world and as if by miracle, gathering ever increasing power in the bitterness of the

struggle, became invincible. It created an army of its own representing its class interests: the Red Army! Under the control of the Communist Party of Russia, the Red Army became the powerful weapon for defense of the Russian Revolution. It repelled the Cheko Slovak invasion. It inflicted a crushing defeat on the armies of Kolchak, subsidized by international capitalism. It is driving Denikin's army headlong into flight. It has defeated all the foreign armies sent by the "victorious" allies and forced them either to surrender or to be withdrawn.

Today Soviet Russia stands erect, strong

and unconquerable, and like the Red Dawn in the skies is shedding a new light upon the earth and is bringing a New Day for awakening humanity! In every corner of the world myriad masses of exploited toilers are rising and breaking their chains, their eyes turned for hope and inspiration toward the East: to Soviet Russia.

The year which has passed presents a record of the severest trials, but also of the brightest hopes for the triumph of the world revolution. In Germany the Spartans were overwhelmed by the reaction through the treason of the yellow Socialists, those Social Patriots who drowned the revolution

(Turn to page 2)

THE COMMUNIST

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A Chip of the Old Block

CONDITIONS in the United States demand a military dictator. Mass strikes, defiance of Comperism by the unions, general mistrust of the empty sounds emanating from hitherto respected sources of authority in industry and state, the bitterness of civilians and of returned soldiers and sailors... are symptomatic of a situation that needs the rule of blood and iron... to crush the morale of the American working masses.

During the last few weeks, in view of President Wilson's inability to function at his duties, the daily press has been developing a campaign for a dictatorship. For instance, the Chicago Tribune recommends a regency, thus following the imperialist diplomatist policy of never naming, but only hinting at real meanings.

Perhaps no one, in our estimation is more fitted for the job of dictator and all around producer of capitalist violence than General Wood, who is being now groomed for the presidency by the militant capitalists and imperialists of the United States. The other day, in course of an address at Fort Collins, General Wood behaved like a chip of the old block (Dictatorship of American Capitalism), when he said:

"My motto for the 'Reds' is 'S. O. S.' Ship or Shoot. I believe we should place them all on ships of stone with sails of lead and that their first stop should be hell. We must advocate radical laws to deal with radical people."

"Shoot"—"Lead"—"Hell". These three words should popularize the general's slogan. We hope that the state of South Dakota makes a note of these admirable platform planks since they don't deal with Wilsonian subterfuge and are unusually brief.

"Shoot"—"Lead"—"Hell" is the embodiment of imperialist dictatorship. It is all the working masses can ever expect from the dictatorship of finance-capital. "Shot"—"Lead"—"Hell"—it has been the lot of the proletariat in wars created by imperialism, and "Shoot"—"Lead"—"Hell" is destined to be the greeting of capitalism's machine guns as the struggle for control of industry and state becomes more sharply defined.

The dictatorship of capitalism in America may find an efficient servant for its future requirements in General Wood. And it is to be hoped that he will be nominated for and elected to the presidency to try to carry out the policy of "Shoot"—"Lead"—"Hell".

The issue of dictatorship of finance-capital versus the dictatorship of the proletariat must be decided some day, as it will be, notwithstanding the efforts of social-traitor socialists, and Comperites in the American Federation of Labor, to use the soft pedal of compromise and bourgeois reform.

The time for compromise has gone. Imperialist sentiments as expressed by Gen. Wood will be useful since they help to discourage compromise and sharpen the lines of the final struggle.

Workers of Japan and U. S., Look Out!

ARE the imperialists of Japan and the United States planning the next big bloodletting?

Why are newspapers and magazines in each country publishing articles that intend to arouse the emotion of hatred in the workers of Japan and the United States?

For some time correspondents have been assigned to cover Japan for big metropolitan dailies and newspaper syndicates, evidently, to exploit the attitude of what American imperialism is pleased to call anti-American hostility.

Rodney Gilbert, styled as "leading oriental journalist," (although his syndicated articles on Japan bear all the earmarks of inspired propaganda such as is promoted in periods before actual declaration of war) writes: "THERE IS SOME INDICATION THAT OFFICIAL JAPAN WELCOMES THE ANTI-AMERICAN HOSTILITIES AMONG THE JAPANESE MASSES AS OFFERING A COUNTER-IRRITANT TO DOMESTIC TROUBLES."

War, with its opiates of military music, lying patriotic phrases and stimulated frenzy undoubtedly would cause Japanese and American workers to forget their domestic affairs. Capitalists in both countries would possibly welcome a war in which Japanese and American workers would slaughter each other, for the imperialists and governments of both countries have been experiencing terrific treatment in the form of mass strikes.

Fortunately, the bunk, hypocrisy, and viciousness of Imperialism's and Militarism's peace conference at Paris has disillusioned many of the working masses in Japan and the United States. This should put workers and their mass organizations in both countries on guard, and urge them, not merely to fight and expose the motives of propaganda intended to stage a Japanese-American war, but to prepare to inaugurate a campaign of mass strikes that will cripple imperialism in both countries.

The only enemy that the workers of Japan and the United States have today is Imperialism, with its host of financiers, traders, diplomatists, military officials, and corrupt press. Workers, watch out!

Want to Live in Guam?

IT is interesting indeed to note the attitude now of the different European journals toward American institutions. "American tyranny," "American Czarism," "American Prussianism," are a few of the phrases employed to show what they think "over there" about the imperialism of the United States.

No longer will tales of American liberty influence the fancies of European workers. The policy of deporting and imprisoning men and women for advocating shop and government control by the proletariat, is opening the eyes of the European press and working masses.

Not to be outdone by the persecuting Department of Justice in its zeal for convictions, Senator Fletcher of Florida has introduced a bill that provides:

That every citizen of the United States who directly or indirectly commences or carries on any verbal, written or printed intercourse, or correspondence, with any other persons, whether citizens or aliens, with the intent either

peaceably or by violence to overthrow the government of the United States, or to DISINTEGRATE OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER SET ASIDE OR DO AWAY WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES... shall be fined not more than \$5,000 for each offense and imprisoned less than one nor more than ten years or both, or may, in lieu of such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the judge, be deported permanently to the island of Guam."

Czarist Russia had its Siberia. The "democracy" of the United States is to have its Guam. Using as criterion the temper of the American masses towards the repulsive methods of the present government considerable number of Guams may be necessary. Meanwhile, The Communist Party admits the suggestion to European publications that the above proposed bill be given some measure of publicity for the further enlightenment of European workers about the tendencies of the dictatorship of capitalism in the United States.

The World Revolution Conquers!

(Continued from page 1)

in the blood of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and thousands of fearless workers who were murdered by the machetes of the "worker" Noske. Bela Kun is in prison and brave Hungary which dared to follow Russia was handed over by the Entente to the White Guard.

But have the Imperialist powers succeeded in crushing the World Revolution? The terror which has seized capitalist governments including our own, is the best answer.

The answer is heard in the roll of the cannon of the Red Army which is marching on and sweeping forward to victory. What a glorious army it is. The first army which is fighting for the working class! The Army of Proletarian Emancipation! It is the advance guard of the World Red Army! Already Japan is trembling and is calling "democratic America to its aid in Siberia where the Red Army is forging irresistibly ahead. Indeed, the foot steps of the Red Army are heard here in America in the repressive measures, in anti-strike laws and deportations. But all the efforts of the reactionary world powers are in vain.

The coming year will see capitalism perish in more than one country. Even here in America the capitalist system will totter under the onslaught of the ever increasing, instinctive rebellion of the masses against the yoke of capitalism. In Europe the tide of the revolution will engulf the entire continent. In Italy the proletariat is ready for the final conflict. In Germany, from the graves of Liebknecht and Luxemburg has arisen a mighty spirit which firing the hearts of the proletariat with

Turn to Page 5.)

RESPOND NOW

to The Communist
Appeal on page 7 this
issue for Immediate Defense
or It may be Your Turn Next!

**THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP
MUST ACT WITHOUT DELAY**

The Struggle for Control

Communism vs. I. W. W. Pacifism.

By Morris Gordin

A CERTAIN section of the I. W. W., under the leadership of Varney and Sandgren, are very insistent in denying the political character of the class struggle. For them Karl Marx's famous assertion that "every class struggle is a political struggle" is of no consequence. According to their view the political state is only a mere superstructure which will collapse of itself the moment the basic foundation of society, the economic system, is removed. Hence the state should be ignored. The class struggle must concentrate and develop its full impact on the economic field. There is nothing to bother about the state power. It is a shadow and will disappear as soon as the object creating it i. e., the economic capitalist control of industry, will disappear.

How will economic capitalist control disappear? In an armed clash with the master class? No! Because that involves a struggle with the state power which is the armed power of the master class, in other words a political struggle. How can the master class be dislodged from industry before it is deprived of its most powerful weapon of defense, namely, the state power? How can the working class attain the control of industry without coming to blows with the master class? To these questions no clear answer is given. The only explanation which could be found among the many vague answers is something like this: The working-class will assume control of industry when sufficiently organized and ready to assume such control. This does not presuppose a revolution. The assumption of control is not a revolutionary act; it is an evolutionary process (See Varney's "Industrial Communism") which at a certain point of time will be realized of itself, without any sort of violent means being necessary, because of the readiness of the proletariat and the ripeness of the historic process.

We do not understand such an idealistic, peaceful conception and consummation of the bitterest contest in human history, i. e., of the class struggle. It would have us believe that the master class will surrender without a fight to the finish. This is contrary to the entire record of history. Never did one ruling class renounce its prerogative before it was overwhelmed and crushed in open combat. The subject class aspiring to power must make its way to the helm of society over the corpse of the former ruling class. Such is also the "destiny" of the working class: through revolution and seizure of the state power to the control of society and industry!

But we do not intend to expound here in this article the entire argument of "Revolutionary Communism Versus Evolutionary I. W. W.-ism." These few remarks are made only to emphasize the chief points of division between us as Revolutionary Communists and the Evolutionary and Pacifist I. W. W. of the Varney and Sandgren school. This claim has been especially noisy the last few years, coming in all the I. W. W. organs about the "triumph" of their ideas in Germany (See *Industrial Communism*, I. W. W. into Germany," *One Big Union*, December, 1919). Nunner, reference was made to "The General Workers' Union of Germany" (*Die Allgemeine Arbeiter Union Deutschlands*) which was declared to be a copy of the American I. W. W. We deny this claim and assert that so long as the I.

W. W. remain indifferent to the political struggle they cannot claim an identity or even relationship with the "General Workers' Union of Germany." The organization in Germany fully recognizes the political character of the class struggle. It considers itself subordinate to the political revolutionary party which is the instrument for the capture of the state power and the inauguration of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. With such an industrial organization of the working class we would be glad and happy to work hand in hand and to fight together for the triumph of Communism!

Following is Section One of the Program of the General Workers' Union. We reproduce it from the official organ of the organization, *Der Kampf*, for November 27, 1919:

OUR AIMS.

THE World Revolution brought international capitalism to the brink of bankruptcy. Hence the proletariat is confronted immediately with the realization of its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism.

In Germany the November Revolution introduced the period of the final conflict for the capture of the political and economic power. In this period all the industrial struggles become mass-struggles and take on a revolutionary character. At the outbreak of the mass struggles which after the November revolution involved all the important industries it became evident that the existing trade-union organizations not only have failed to assume the leadership of the struggles, but have employed all means to counter-act them. The creation of a new militant economic organization became an urgent necessity. The new organization is "The General Workers' Union (*Allgemeine Arbeiter Union*).

EMPTY WORDS

will not help lead the revolutionary workers in the struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Proletarian Revolution demands revolutionary action!

BY SPREADING

THE COMMUNIST PRESS WE SHALL AROUSE THE WORKING CLASS TO THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

It is the militant economic organization of the revolutionary proletariat in the period of the class struggle aiming at the overthrow of capitalism. Its task is the propaganda, preparation and direction of economic mass struggles. This purpose can be achieved only in the name of the general revolutionary struggle WHICH MUST BE CARRIED ON BY ALL MEANS (MASS STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS, UPRISINGS, etc.). BOTH ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FIELD. The closest co-operation with the political revolutionary party which stands on the basis of the Third International is imperatively necessary. The General Workers' Union declares itself in solidarity with the program of the Third International and is fighting under its banners.

The aim of the revolutionary proletarian struggle in which the General Workers' Union is to perform A PART OF THE TASK, namely that of the organization of the masses on the economic field, is the abolition of capitalism by revolutionary methods and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for the realization of Socialism. The General Workers' Union unqualifiedly rejects any co-operation (the conclusion of

collective agreements or wage-arrangements) with the capitalists.

During the Dictatorship of the Proletariat the General Workers' Union PLACES ITSELF AT THE SERVICE OF THE COMMUNIST reconstruction of industry (The adjustment of work, the regulation of production in the various branches of industry, etc.)

Clearly the General Workers' Union differs fundamentally from the non-political and pacifist section of the I. W. W. The G. W. U. recognize the political character of the class struggle which must be carried on by all means (mass strikes, demonstrations, uprisings, etc.). It considers its work only "a part of the task." The main part of the task is to be accomplished by the revolutionary political party which is the instrument for the inauguration of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, during which "THE GENERAL WORKERS' UNION PLACES ITSELF AT THE SERVICE OF THE COMMUNIST RECONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRY."

To show with the utmost clearness how definitely the G. W. U. recognizes the political character of the class struggle, we permit ourselves to cite one more quotation from their official organ, *Der Kampf*. We refer to the last paragraph in an article reproduced in *The Communist*, December 27, 1919, under the caption: "The Struggle for Control":

Every struggle for the industrial control is political and economic alike. The aim of this Union is to point out this identity and to do away with the fear of the recognition of the political character of the strike-weapon. This Union must not only widen, but also deepen the strike movement. The demands for wages must be transformed into political demands. The economic struggle for economic aims must develop into an economic struggle for political aims, and later develop into a political struggle for political aims. And this last aim must be finally fought out with the last political bulwark, WITH THE ARMY!

Has this anything to do with the political indifference and evolutionary pacifism of Varney and Sandgren? Did they gain a "victory" in Germany? Nothing of the kind! It is our victory in that the G. W. U. is absolutely in accord (almost to the point of repetition of the same phrasing) with our Communist position on the question of the strike-weapon. "THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC AIMS MUST DEVELOP INTO AN ECONOMIC STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL AIMS AND LATER DEVELOP INTO A POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL AIMS." Such is the position of the entire revolutionary proletariat of Europe, including the ertswille Syndicalists.

How long will the revolutionary rank and file of the I. W. W. permit the organization to be misrepresented by such "grape juice" preachers of evolution and counter-revolution as Varney and Sandgren?

The I. W. W. organization must be made safe for Communism by ridding it of the pacifist and "evolutionary" leadership and by placing it squarely in favor of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and of the political struggle. Then we shall join hands and work in close co-operation (like the General Workers' Union and the Spartacists in Germany) and fight together under the red banner of the Third International for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in America.

The Italian Election

Result and What It Means

FOR three weeks before the Italian elections in the week of December 6, the Socialist daily, *Avanti*, made its daily full-page headline something about Russia. This was to tell its readers that the only issue on which it was contesting the election was the Russian Revolution—the world Revolution. But a corollary to this was the condemnation of imperialistic war, especially victorious imperialistic war, like the one just—pardon, not yet, ended. So its sub-headline was usually about the war. No one who voted the Socialist ticket in Italy was in the dark concerning what his vote meant. It meant, so far as a parliamentary vote can mean anything, a vote against the war and in favor of the world Revolution.

On this platform the Socialists increased their representation in the Italian Chamber of Deputies from 42 to 156, nearly quadrupling their number of deputies, and attaining almost a third of the next Italian parliament. What is more important, in fact, the only thing in this election which the Socialists considered important at all, they increased their popular vote from 900,000 in 1913, to something more than two millions and a half.

When the campaign opened, it required faith and courage to "play up" Soviet Russia in headlines. It appeared at that time that Petrograd was about to fall. Yudenitch was in the very suburbs of the city, and one could only judge from the dispatches that the Russian transportation system had broken down, and that Trotsky had been unable to ship supplies to his northern army. At the same time Denikin was less than 200 kilometers from Moscow. Poland was pushing ahead from the west, and Finland seemed about to intervene. The Baltic States had broken off their peace negotiations with the Bolsheviks. The British Admiralty had made what appeared to be an official announcement of the fall of Kronstadt to the British warships, a loss to Russia which could never have been retrieved. Even Koltchak seemed to be successfully resisting the Bolshevik attacks.

Then, with one of those marvelous turns of fortune which occur but a few times in history, the situation suddenly cleared. Yudenitch was driven back, Finland refused to intervene, the Ukrainians mobilized in Denikin's rear, Kronstadt proved to be safe, Poland and the Baltic States made definite efforts toward peace with Russia, Denikin was hurled back, Kieff fell, and then Omsk. All this was known on the occasion of the second anniversary of Soviet Russia, and the Italian workers had a week in which to draw the moral.

I can testify that the results of the election far surpassed the hopes of the Socialists. In all those parts of Italy in which the masses of the people can read and write, the vote was pretty consistently 50 per cent Socialist. Rome, the nest of the petty bureaucracy, and one of the weakest Socialist cities, gave a plurality for the Socialists for the first time in its history. The province of Rome, in which clerical influences are strong, gave the Catholics only 5,000 votes more than the Socialists. Venetia, which had been invaded by the enemy, and which had been counted on to give a tremendous vote to the patriotic party, gave a clear majority to the

By Hiram Moderwell
in the London Dreadnaught.

Socialists over all the other parties combined. The industrial cities, like Milan, Turin and Alessandria, and the Ramagnan provinces around Bologna, went Socialist by an enormous majority. All the districts north of Rome, save three out of four, gave a Socialist plurality.

All but a handful of the yellow Socialists were defeated. In Genoa, Guiliotti edged in with his yellow "Party of Labor," thanks to his enormous popularity as secretary of the Seamen's Union; but his confrere, Canepa, one of the men who presumed to represent the Italian working class at the Lucerne conference in August, was defeated. Naples, in which Socialist organization has always been weak, elected, it is true, the patriotic

that of the Clericals. In all they have scarcely more than 30 seats in the coming parliament.

The remainder of the seats, some 215 out of 508, go to the dozens of local groups which are called by the capitalist papers the "parties of law and order." But these have no national organization and no program which they dare announce. They cannot unite on any single point, and even if they had a clear majority in the chamber they could not form a government.

What, then, will the next government be like? Let us leave the answer to those guessers to whom it matters. The next government will be formed as all previous ones have been, pussyfooting and bribes, and conferences behind closed doors. It will have as little clear policy as the one now departing unmourned.

The newspapers are having their silly season over the results of this election. They are, in fact, more nervous than they have been since the general strike of July. They note with anxiety that the news caused the exchange to drop, and they fear that the new political situation will make it more difficult for Italy to obtain favors from the Great Council in Paris.

They deplore the fact that the conservatives were split, and that they had no national organization with which to oppose the Socialists. They forget the fact that party combinations would have no effect on the Socialist representation under the new system of proportional representation which they themselves created in an effort to make their democracy "pure." They point enviously to the results in France, in which, as a result of such combinations, the Socialists lost two score or more of their seats. But they forget to mention that the French Socialists increased their vote from 700,000 to 1,700,000, and that increase in popular strength is the only thing a revolutionary party cares a straw about.

The wiser of these papers understands, however, that the election does mean a change of front on the part of bourgeois Italy. "L'Epoca," which is from time to time a ministerial organ, points out that the result of the election will alienate Italy still more from the western powers, which have been far from sisterly toward her hitherto. They assert that Italy must in the future look for her necessary supplies of coal, of oil, and of wheat, not from England and America, but from Russia. Yes, from Soviet Russia! These papers accept the fact that the Allied intervention in Russia has failed, that Communist Russia is going to live. They openly say that economic and semi-diplomatic relations with Russia must be opened at the earliest opportunity.

And yet these bourgeois leaders are not so panic-stricken at the Socialist victory as foreigners might suppose. They do not worry too much over the fact that a third of their new legislative body is composed of avowed revolutionists pledged to oppose and obstruct at every turn, pledged to preach only the Communist Republic, and to organize a violent Revolution at the earliest opportunity.

Why this strange blindness? It is not blindness. These politicians have not been (Turn to next page).

Aim in One Direction

By Karl Liebknecht

UNITY! Who else is seeking and striving for it as much as we are? For the unity which will give the proletariat the power to accomplish its historic mission?

But not every unity makes for power. Unity between fire and water will extinguish the fire and convert the water into vapor; unity between wolf and sheep means that the sheep will be devoured by the wolf; unity between the proletariat and the ruling class means that the proletariat will be offered up as a sacrifice; unity with traitors spells defeat.

Only forces which aim in one direction can be strengthened through unity; to amalgamate forces headed in different directions is to weaken them.

What we endeavor to do is to unite the forces which aim in the same direction. But to unite divergent forces is to create weakness and to eliminate the driving forces of the revolution. This is what the apostles of unity are looking for, just like the preachers of unity during the war.

POLITICS IS ACTION. That the action shall be unified and the forces shall operate in the same direction, a unity is required in regards to the road and the aim. Whosoever agrees with us about the road and aim is a welcome comrade for the struggle.

—Translated by M. G.

Socialist Labriola. But with him it elected two official Socialists, one of them Francesco Misiano, discharged from the government railway service for strike activities, condemned to prison for anti-militarist activities, deserter from the army, arrested in Switzerland for revolutionary propaganda, arrested again in Berlin for Communist activities during Spartacist week, and now in prison.

The Clericals, with their thousands of permanent party organizers in the persons of its priesthood, came out much weaker than had been expected. This is the more remarkable since they offered a programme of land distribution and taxation of wealth, which was designed to catch all those workers and timid Socialists who still fear the word "Bolshevism."

Everywhere the patriotic party, the imperialists, those who want to make a meal of the Balkans in the next ten years, were defeated. In nearly every district they came at the bottom of the list. And this in spite of the fact that they offered a programme of internal reform still more radical than

The Present Situation in America

By Ian Lepin

THE minds of people in America seem to have become numbed by the persistent assertion that this country is something exclusive, in a class by itself, that it differs fundamentally from European countries, and especially from Russia. This belief has been also current in wide circles of radical socialists and those who considered themselves "liberals".

Accordingly, the maxims of the labor movement of western Europe and the great lessons of the Russian Revolution were thought to be of no practical value here in America.

The Radicals referred to, no doubt, have shown fine spirit and enthusiasm about the Bolsheviks. But there it ended. Bolshevism was good at a distance, in "barbaric" Russia, but altogether out of place in the United States.

Among the most outspoken of these radicals, John Reed, fresh from Russia, postponed the American Revolution in the "Revolutionary Age" for five years. More balanced men, like Scott Nearing, proved scientifically that fifty years, at least, will elapse before the proletarian uprising will ever sweep the country.

However, the last seven or eight months have damaged this notion, if not discarded it because the class struggle has assumed very clearly defined outlines and looms high above the whirlwind of passing events. And so, delusions about American exclusiveness are in a process of being completely undermined.

Take, for instance, the three most dangerous myths dealing with American exclusiveness: (1) One united people, (2) free democratic institutions, and (3) higher education.

Are we a unified people? The artificial unity created by the war has vanished with remarkable swiftness during the brief period

of less than a year and has made the United States from coast to coast a "no man's land," ravished by the bitter war of two irreconcilably hostile camps: the Producers and the Parasites.

The foolhardy attempt to solve class war problems by means of a conference called by the president and composed of big capitalists, reactionary labor leaders and certain de-classed men failed miserably. The conference, as we know, broke up without succeeding to harmonize the opposing interests of the exploiters and exploited. The conference went into oblivion like one of the many insignificant curiosities of the new period of class struggle in America. It had no deep meaning. The capitalists did not take it seriously. They know fully well that their dictatorship is being upheld by more tangible means than parleys with reactionary labor leaders.

The present situation means only an intensified application of outrages against workers. Such an intensification that they might seem quite new. The mask has been dropped. The constitution has been thrown altogether into the waste basket by the capitalist and substituted it with a brutality that harmonizes with the "law and order" of exploitation. So we now have deportations, political prisons, raids, annihilation of press and assemblage, and abolition of ordinary civil liberties.

It is a sad tale indeed. Especially at the present when a cloud of reaction of the blackest kind is hovering low over America, besmirching everything. The capitalists are conjuring the dark forces, their press is shouting blood and murder. They dream of nothing but the practice of violence.

Our educators are, generally speaking, an army of gentlemen capitalistically trained, brutalized and paid to keep up the supreme rule of capital, to defend bourgeois dictatorship against the rising proletarian revolution, for genuine freedom and justice. Isn't this the education that has been so much boasted about and heralded through the world as something exclusively American?

These are the outstanding features of American exclusiveness. But if we compare conditions of old Russia we may be startled at the similarity. The exclusiveness there was as great as here in America. All the Russian toilers were excluded as completely as their American fellow workers from the joys of life.

As long as the causes for revolution are at hand and the despotism of the ruling class increases—the awakening and rallying of the workers will proceed. The results thus far are tremendously encouraging. Ten months ago we had Seattle, Butte, Lawrence, and lately the steel workers' and miners' strikes. Their interests lie in the overthrow of capitalism, the annihilation of the dictatorship of the finance-capital. Only thus can the problem of obtaining security and better life be solved. There is no other way.

The innovations of the "era of reconstruction" do not lighten the workers' burden. Wages are adjusted downward, the cost of living upward, and unemployment increases. Will these questions be solved by deportation or filling of jails with political prisoners?

The capitalists can not give better life to the workers, even if they desired to do so. They cannot end exploitation unless they ruin themselves. So it is up to you workers to do the job.

The Italian Election

playing the political game these many years for nothing.

I asked a prominent Roman editor about the "Socialist danger."

"It is perhaps the best thing that could have happened," he said. "Socialists out of parliament are dangerous. But Socialists in parliament soon become—"

"Become what?" I asked.

"They soon become tame," he answered.

And "L'Epoca" prints at the top of its first page a sentence from one Luigi Luzzatti:—

"Where a Revolution might be able to break out violently, parliament can canalize it."

Which means that these people believe that the proletariat's parliamentary activities are anti-revolutionary activities. These papers are consequently offering the new government to the Socialists, if they will be tame and co-operate with the bourgeois parties. The offer must, of course, be refused, for the Socialist party, and each and every deputy representing it, is pledged against any sort of collaboration with the other groups.

Now, this is satisfactory so far as it goes. But human nature is ambitious. Among the 160 odd Socialist deputies there will be many who itch for office, even as Briand in France itched for office a decade or more ago. And it may be too hard to refuse, when office can

be had for the asking. There will be the old cry of "immediate benefits for the working class," and the more popular of the moderate deputies may feel themselves safe in forming a separate group and intriguing for ministerial responsibility. It is easy to reply that they will be expelled from the party, as they doubtless will. But what if they were able to carry their own local constituencies with them? It would mean a new moderate Socialist party and another split in the Italian proletarian movement.

It would be foolish to deny that the thoughtful Socialists are worried over this situation. The warnings of Bordiga at the Bologna conference are already being demonstrated with an eloquence greater than his own.

This, however, is in the future. The immediate actions of the party group in parliament will be of a character sufficiently embarrassing to the middle-classes. It will demand the formal recognition of the workers' councils, now being formed in the industrial centres, with direct representation in parliament. And it will demand public control over the finances of newspapers, and an inquiry, in conjunction with the parliaments of other nations, into the financing of newspapers during the last war.

Italy, if not a revolutionary country, will be at least an uneasy one in the months that are to come.

The World Revolution Conquers

(Continued from page 2)

determination for revolt. Soon, when the Red Army quells Denikin, it will turn in the direction of Germany and as the rumbling of the approaching Red Army will reach the Spartacans, they will rise and conquer the power. Then the doom of capitalism will be sealed.... THEN THE RED DAWN OF RUSSIA WILL SPREAD ITS RADIANCE OVER THE HORIZON OF EVERY LAND.... THE BLACK SHADOWS, THE HIDEOUS NIGHTS OF SLAVERY WILL VANISH.... THE NEW DAY OF COMMUNIST FREEDOM WILL REJUVENATE THE EARTH AND BLESS THE HUMAN RACE WITH HAPPINESS AND THE JOYS OF LIFE!

Long Live Soviet Russia!

Long Live the World Revolution!

TCHAIKOVSKY, the "head of the North Russian Government" is on the way to America. How long shall we have to wait for Kolchak and Denikin?

AFTER ALL ours is "the home of the free" for all counter revolutionaries. We hope that Padgrewski, who lost his job in Warsaw, will soon be here. We'll be delighted to hear him play "The Funeral March of the Counter Revolution."

The Menace of American Capitalism

Or the Power Behind Wilson

"Democratizing" the Railroads.

McADOO went from the Treasury to the Director-General of Railroads, and in that office surrounded himself with a picked staff of assistants from the Harriman-Rockefeller railroads, including the cleverest corporation lawyer the "interests" have discovered in recent times. This gentleman was placed by Wilson's son-in-law in charge of "Legal Matters." McAdoo and his staff of "safe" men proceeded to co-ordinate the various lines and to override or abolish the anti-trust laws against which the railroads had been doing battle for twenty or thirty years. Whilst in charge of the lines, McAdoo told the railwaymen not to take part in politics and, at the same time as he proceeded to spend \$500,000,000 of the people's money on improving their properties, made the corporations aware that he was not in favor of nationalization.

Wilson's latest utterance on the pressing railroad problem is a plea for a "modified private control, under a more unified and affirmative public regulation and under such alterations of the law as will permit wasteful competition to be avoided and a considerable degree of unification of administration to be effected." (World's Work, Jan., 1919.) This, we are told, is what "Harriman hinted at....." when he said that "the combination of different railroads should be regulated by law."

The railroads must be rebuilt—or should we say honestly built—at the expense of the Government, in order that billions of dollars of commodities may be transported to the Atlantic and to the Pacific, for carriage in a colossal mercantile marine to every corner of the Old World. Before vacating office, McAdoo recommended a continuance of some measure of control and the electrification of the railroads. There has recently been formed an American International Steel Corporation "to compete with the U. S. Steel Corporation for foreign trade," and to include twenty-five firms, consolidating the Bethlehem and Milvale Steel Corporations, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's steel plant, Lackawanna Steel Company and the two Rockefeller steel plants, the Republic Inland Steel Company and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. This \$2,000,000,000 combination is, probably, getting ready, not only for foreign business, but to provide the steel for rebuilding the railroads at home. The great hydro-electric contractors—mainly "Standard Oil" in domination will, undoubtedly, carry through the installation and operation of electric power. The National City Bank saw in September last "the promise to-day of an enormous development of electrification." So do we, in Britain, in the same manner, for this very reason and under identical methods of regulated private control.

Coal and Cotton.

Now, that the re-organization of the railroads has facilitated the export of coal, and that by March there should be an increase of 16 per cent in coal production, Sir Adam Sedgwick, at the United States

"With her large output and low cost of production... will doubtless be able to bring very great pressure to bear upon English European markets in an effort to displace British coal."

America has seriously invaded the

South American market, as well as that of Genoa and Paris, and so is beginning to threaten the trade of South Wales, and to strike at England's valuable export business.

Hard upon this comes the news that four textile export associations have banded together into one body to further the export of these staples of Lancashire and Yorkshire, strike at England's valuable export business.

Finance, shipping, shipbuilding, iron and steel, coal and cotton—as supremacy in these slips from Britain's fingers, what remains for her whereon she can rear her fabric of political eminence, of maritime supremacy, of imperial pride?

There remains for her the British Navy. President Wilson demands the Freedom of the Seas and offers as an alternative the prospect, nay, the certainty of proceeding with the construction of the greatest navy in the world, wherewith he and Vanderlip and Chas. M. Schwab will teach the virtue of "thinking internationally."

"Democracy" at Home.

Such is the power which stood behind President Wilson as he argued and pleaded and dictated at Paris. Gompers came to Europe, with his passports viséd, to persuade the European Labor Movement that trade unionism has nothing to do with Socialism. The American Socialist Party could not get its passports to Berné, it could not get them to the Inter-Allied Conference in London last autumn. Eugene Debs is serving a sentence of ten years' penal servitude for no more serious crime than Ramsay MacDonald has repeatedly committed. Mrs. Stokes is to serve her long sentence for expressing sentiments repugnant to Wilson's Government, but no more than Mrs. Snowden may say in England under Lloyd George. Bill Haywood and his hundred comrades of the I. W. W. serve some, their twenty year sentences, whilst the man whom the fought for decent conditions in the mines of Bisbee, J. D. Ryan, colleague of Rogers and Rockefeller in the copper speculation of 1899 to 1903, was President Wilson's Director of Aircraft Production.

Charles Schwab, compared by the "New York Evening Post," to Whitaker Wright, at the time when he "looted" the Shipbuilding Trust in 1903; the man whose character was for ever delineated before the Senate Committee on the armor plate frauds at the Carnegie Steel Works, where he was superintendent in 1895, the magnate to join whom McAdoo is said to have betaken himself, accompanied President Wilson to Paris as one of his commercial advisers. With them was McCormick hawking his reapers and binders.

President Wilson is not too fortunate in his political associates and in his party. He proved doubly unfortunate in the role which he was originally selected to perform.

The Last of the Liberals.

The "Big Business" groups had been doing what they liked with the politics of America for many a long year prior to 1913, and had dictated to Presidents and to Congress and Senate the measures which they should adopt or reject, the judges whom they should elect and the diplomats whom they should appoint to foreign posts. Roose-

velt had been told "to holler all he liked," and discovered in the process. Taft was placidly acquiescent to the trust magnates. Bryan was unsatisfactory as a candidate for President, too visionary and too suspected of demagoguery. A man was urgently required who would initiate a "clean up" at home and who would enhance America's reputation abroad. There were ominous indications of a farmers' revolt in the Middle West and of a labor "slide" towards the Socialist Party. Unless something apparently honest, straightforward and drastic, was attempted, and, in some measures, accomplished, the outlook for the "Money Power" was by no means reassuring. The trusts had got too firm a grip upon the economic and political life of the country for any man to dislodge them, and it was quite safe to admit to office a Liberal reformer whose good intentions would win the confidence of the lower middle class, the farmers and the trade unionists and, at the same time, would lead nowhere in particular. The American capitalist "bosses" had seen the Lloyd George budget and land "stunts" and knew how powerless Liberals like Campbell Bannerman and Woodrow Wilson really were. Besides, the time had come when American industrial development demanded measures to dislodge the conservative-minded money lords who, by political means, had entrenched themselves as a cosmopolitan financial clique in control of American credit. The hour had come for displacing the Morgans and for rendering American productive business the assistance of a banking system nominally that of the impartial and independent U. S. Government, but actually of the manufacturing and mercantile interests. The Morgan interests similarly had hold of the party caucuses and of the intricate political system of the U. S., and to simplify the processes of democratic election and Legislative initiation was to aid "Standard Oil" as against the pre-eminently moneyed power, which, since 1863, had gained an increasing control over the life of the Republic.

The Democrats stood for the rights of the separate States as against the Federal authority, and to have put forward Bryan or any other "party" man would have been to weaken the centralization policy which economic evolution demanded, and which Wilson was known most vigorously to favor.

The trust had been fostered though not made possible—as some contended—by the protective tariff, and having now grown to great size and strength, could in some measure dispense with governmental assistance of a purely defensive character. Many of them, concerned as they were with crude minerals like petroleum and copper, of which the U. S. had enormous and cheap supplies, or of meat, sugar, tobacco, machine-tools, etc., in whose production America was pre-eminent, could do without a tariff and would gain enormously by reciprocal free-trade in foreign countries.

Such being the needs of the moment, the Democrats were a suitable party, and Woodrow Wilson a desirable candidate for Presidential authority.

Wilson's labor policy was curiously suggestive of that rather liberal programme which the Liberal Government carried through in England in 1906—a law declar-

(Continued on Page 8.)

COMMUNIST DEFENSE.

To make the defense of the thousands of arrested members of the Communist Party more effective Communist Defense Committees have been organized in various cities. Two Main Defense Offices will be opened soon. One in New York and one in Chicago. The first will be in charge of Com. C. E. Ruthenberg and the later in charge of Com. Fred M. Freedman. The addresses of both offices will soon be made public and all defense funds, Liberty bonds, correspondence relating to the defense of our comrades etc. should be forwarded to one of the two offices. Special attention is called to the fact, that the defense of our comrades will be attended to independently from all other organizations. Organizations such as the Socialist Party that are collecting money under the pretense of "Communist Defense" have nothing to do with our Defense Committees whatsoever. Contributions should therefore be made directly to: "Communist Defense Committees" the only ones authorized to collect funds for Communist Defense.

Every Communist organization, every Communist Party member should become a unit in the organization for the distribution of party literature and increase the knowledge of the party principles by placing books and pamphlets in the hands of the workers. To publish and distribute this literature is one of the great functions of our organization, for as knowledge and understanding increases among our members and the masses, our power grows.

These Are Ready

"THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA."

By N. LENIN and L. TROTSKY.
Edited by L. C. Fraina.
Paper, 450 Pages.

Single copies.....\$1.00
5 copies or more, each......65
Cloth:

Single copies.....\$1.50
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This book contains the story of the Russian revolution as told by Lenin and Trotsky in their articles written as the events took place.

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By LOUIS C. FRAINA.

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100 or more, each......96
Ten thousand copies of this pamphlet have already been sold. The title speaks for itself.

Send order and remittance to
1219 Blue Island Ave. Chicago, Ill.

SECRETARY BAKER is ordering machine guns to fight the "reds." This is what we call "Machine Gun Democracy."

WHAT WILL the secretary do, when the soldiers will refuse to shoot their brothers? It happened in Archangel where American soldiers refused to fight the "reds". In the beginning of the Russian Revolution of 1905 the Czar's faithful General Trepot declared: "We shall not spare bullets!" But generals are to-day shoveling snow on the streets in Russia. That is what secretary Baker some day will have to do for a living. He'd better get the shovel ready.

An APPEAL to The COMMUNIST MEMBERSHIP

After You've Read This, ACT

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
Demands That You Act Now.

THE STORM CENTRE of the Communist fight in the United States at this time is the city of New York.

Not only is the attack upon the New York members fully as ferocious as the White Terror in Cleveland, but through the agency of the Lusk Committee and its Extraordinary Grand Jury the attack is made national in scope.

By reason of former membership of the National Left Wing Council, which had its headquarters in New York during the two months of its existence, the Executive Secretary, Editor, Associate Editor and one other member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party have been indicted. There are two indictments, each covering a publication in THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE, the first publication being of the Left Wing Manifesto, the second of an article by N. Bucharin. Each indictment consists of three counts, thus making six separate charges.

At this time Comrades Ruthenberg and Ferguson of the Communist Party, together with two former members of the Left Wing Council who are now members of the Communist Labor Party, Benjamin Glow and James Larkin, are under arrest on these charges.

The intervention of several persons, not members of the party, has made possible the release of Comrades Ruthenberg and Ferguson on bail, each at \$15,000.

It is most likely that Comrade Ballam of Boston will also be indicted to New York on the same charges, though the State of Massachusetts also appears anxious to provide Comrade Ballam with prison lodging.

The preliminaries before the Special Term of the Supreme Court indicate that not the least courtesy will be granted to the defense, and every possible limitation will be put upon the defendants to secure convictions.

The prosecution is brought under an old New York law, enacted 1902, making Criminal Anarchy punishable by ten years imprisonment.

Criminal Anarchy is defined as the overthrow of the government by force or violence or other unlawful means. Obviously this law was intended to cover terrorism and assassinations, as its language plainly indicates. It does not cover the mass action advocated by the Communist Party in its present program, nor is there anything in the Left Wing Manifesto or in the Bucharin article which could be twisted into such a construction except on the general logic of "swatting the Bolsheviks."

This trial is being rushed, and it will come in on the wave of sentiment whipped up by the New York papers in connection with the recent deportations of anarchists. It will require an exceptionally able defense, in spite of the weakness of the charges, to overcome all the handicaps under which our comrades go to trial.

CONVICTIONS IN THE NEW YORK CASES, SOME OF WHICH ARE MERELY CHARGES OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WILL MEAN AN END OF OPEN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES, EVEN THOUGH THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF MONARCHICAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE AN IMPORTANT OPEN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, in Italy, Bulgaria, in all the Balkan and Slavic states; in England, France, the Scandinavian countries, Central Asia, etc. THE CONDITION HERE WILL CORRESPOND TO RUSSIA UNDER THE CZARS AND TO THE PRESENT CONDITIONS IN JAPAN.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BE THUS DESTROYED, BUT ITS ACTIVITIES WILL BE LIMITED TO THOSE WHO ARE READY AND ABLE TO GIVE UP EVERYTHING FOR IT, FAMILY, FRIENDS, FREEDOM. This may be inevitable but it seems worth while for an organization based on education and agitation to make a desperate fight for the open forum.

If the defense of our open propaganda is to prove futile it is no less a test of our membership that we make a strong showing before we finally admit that we cannot propagandize Communism openly. The membership must supply the funds for the propaganda involved in the defense.

The Socialist Party and the I. W. W. have made a record of standing by their indicted and imprisoned members, and in this at least they have been in the past aided by the present members of the Communist Party. UNTIL THE TIME COMES FOR THE ABSOLUTE ADMISSION THAT THERE CAN BE NO PROPAGANDA OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES, EXCEPT IN SECRET, SUBJECT TO ALL THE HAZARDS OF A SEY SYSTEM, IT IS A FIRST OBLIGATION OF THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP TO AID AS GENEROUSLY AS POSSIBLE, NOW, IN THE LEGAL DEFENSE.

RESPOND AT ONCE—TO DAY—with active interest organization work, and REMIT YOUR CONTRIBUTION FOR DEFENSE BY CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TODAY.

There is no time to lose.

Special

As this issue of The Communist goes to press, it is learned that the National offices of the Communist Party of America have been raided and many Communists arrested. The offices have been closed by the order of State Attorney Hoyne.

Keep All Contributions Until Notified To Do Forward Them. There Is No Time to Lose in the Work of Getting Ready to Aid in the Defense of the Comrades Who Are Now in Jail.

When the Army Joins the Polish Revolution--Good Night!

THE Communist Party of Poland which has been driven "underground" by the White Terror of General Pilsudsky's social-patriotic dictatorship, has recently held a secret congress on which, among other pronouncements, the following resolution was adopted:

In the period of the Social Revolution each struggle carried on by the workers must become a link in the chain of revolutionary struggles which in their final issue lead to the overthrow of the present order and to the establishment of Socialism. The task of the Communists is to unite the separate manifestations of the workers' struggle and connect them with the slogans of the Social Revolution.

The strength and the attacking power of the revolutionary struggle increase in the same degree in which the revolutionary action embraces ever greater working masses, penetrates into the villages and engulfs the army. The party-tactic must aim at the infusion of ever larger masses into the direct revolutionary struggle. Only by means of mass-action can the working class batter down the existing reaction and repression.

The progressing process of the revolution leads in its development to an armed clash of the revolutionary proletariat with the bourgeoisie. The possibility and significance of armed demonstrations depends upon the fighting readiness of the revolutionary masses and the stage of development reached by the revolution in our country. Such demonstrations can assume the form of the decisive struggle only at the moment when a part of the army joins the revolutionary camp, this condition being necessary for the overthrow of the ruling bourgeoisie and for the capture of the power from their hands.

In the period of the Social Revolution are brought to the foreground all the Councils of Workers' Delegates as the representatives of the working class and as the organs of revolutionary struggle. In the moment of the overthrow of the bourgeois government they must become the organs of the revolutionary power, regardless of its course and the possible momentary quelling of the Councils.

The uncompromising struggle that the Communist Party is conducting against the bourgeois factions and parties includes also

the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S., the so-called Polish Social-Patriots). The latter party, besmirched with the constant treason to the interests of the workers and having sold itself out to the government and the bourgeoisie, is the most dangerous, because it rests upon such working class elements as still retain the ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie, and because by abusing revolutionary phrases the social patriots disrupt from within every revolutionary action of the working class, spreading nationalistic and opportunistic tendencies in the ranks of the workers.

The Left Wing of the P. P. S. which was organized through the splitting away of the more revolutionary elements from that party, still remains a group of heterogeneous elements with undefined ideas. It did not as yet succeed in ridding itself from the nationalistic world-conception, and in politics is leaning towards opportunism which manifests itself in its relation to the political and economic problems. The ideology of this party must be subjected to criticism and in case of combined action we must emphasize the differences which separate us.

The Menace of American Capitalism.

(Continued from page 6)

ing that labor bodies were not illegal combinations in restraint of trade, and that labor was inherent in a man and not a commodity, and a tariff revision law.

The latter was really a capitalist remedy "to abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage," etc. etc. as useless and inane as the Wilson "fiat" that labor should no longer be a commodity!

"Democratizing" Capitalism.

Then Wilson and his son-in-law, McAdoo, pushed through the Currency Bill, establishing the Federal Reserve Board and Banks to "give the business men of this country a banking and currency system by means of which they can make use of the freedom of enterprise and of individual initiative, which we are about to bestow upon them." This law intended to "mobilize reserves" and to prevent "the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country, or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede, or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses," was designated to make impossible another financial catastrophe such as almost occurred in 1907 when Morgan and Rockefeller smashed a band of rivals and consolidated their money power. It was a measure to set up "a national control of money, to make credit more 'elastic' by putting the U. S. Government behind the doomed money system, and as Mr. Wilson-Harris says, to legalize and to 'help make a new place for America in the field of international finance.'"

Under this act, the National City Bank immediately opened up branches in South America. In that half of the Continent Woodrow Wilson's Pan-American realism has exactly coincided with Vanderlip's financial and commercial idealism.

So did Woodrow Wilson foster the "Preparedness" agitation, make speeches concerning the need of a navy to protect shipments of "the wheat of the Kansas fields and of the other great flowering acres of the

United States," demand a fleet which "ought in my judgment to be incomparably the greatest navy in the world," and march at the head of a jingo parade in Washington. He it was who in 1912, urged—so his admirer, Mr. Harris, informs us—that "we must build and buy ships in competition with the world," and who, in country and Congress, pressed for state-aided merchant ships as "the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, comprehension, confidence, and mutual dependence in which we wish to clothe our policy of America for the Americans." He it was who begged Schwab to take in hand the construction of his "shuttles" of Anglo-American capitalist concord, and who entrusted his shipping program to the corporation whose vice-president exclaimed, "We are ready to begin our struggle for our place upon the ocean."

Steadily, cautiously, skilfully, but with incomparable pertinacity and determination, this American Caesar planned his political counterpart for the mighty economic conquests of the American International Corporation. They may not operate in conscious collusion, but the policy which Wilson pursues towards his League of Nations proves him the competent collaborator of those master-minds of capitalist statesmanship which "Standard Oil" has always known how to retain and to employ for the attainment of its ambitions. This is the academic mind, the professional attitude, the philosophic detachment and the patriot vision which completes the daring if unromantic exploits of the Rockefellers, Harrisons, Rogers and Vanderlips.

"Mr. Wilson," says Wm. Archer, "is as far from coquetting with Socialism as any trust magnate in America.... He does not for a moment consider the policy of taking over the Trusts and working them for the benefit of the people. The word 'nationalization' finds no place in his vocabulary. He would have private enterprise open to national or state inspection, but he is quite at

one with the mass of his countrymen in his instinctive distaste for national or municipal enterprise.... he steers clear of all criticism of the merits of private property as an instrument of human welfare.... If he had shown the least inclination to dally with Socialism, he would never have been President of the United States." (The Peace President, pp. 78, 79, 80.)

He must ingratiate himself with the peoples and recommend the United States capitalist politician, preacher and welfare worker to the suspicious proletarians of every land which may become a reservoir of cheap and industrious labor and a spacious market for the surplus commodities of American "quantity production."

The Choice Before Us.

The world is so weary of Capitalism and Militarism and of all their works that it is no easy task to make it safe for a 'safe' Democracy. Be Wilson as honest and as disinterested as we cannot but feel that he is, there is no getting away from the fact that he advances a vain solution, providing only a convenient disguise for those who are using him to further the reactionary purpose of defeating Socialism. He gives to a disreputable cause and an unprincipled clique an appearance of passable honesty, respectability and progressive intent. But not even Wilson can make the cosmopolitan cabal of reactionaries now professing to lay the foundations of a League of Nations other than a self-constituted preliminary sitting of a supernational capitalist executive committee. The workers of the world have not ridded themselves of the mitigated feudal tyrannies of Tsarskoe Selo and Potsdam to entrust their lives to a camouflaged autocracy drafted in Paris, projected from Washington and inspired from Wall Street. They will find no abiding grace and saving virtue in the fine phrases and polished periods of Woodrow Wilson. They have heard the direct challenge and the frank utterances of the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

Which will they choose, the benevolent autocrat of Versailles or the fearless spokesman of Brest Litovsk—Woodrow Wilson, the Liberal, or Leon Trotzky, the Socialist.